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March 30, 1918

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF ABNORMAL
CHILDREN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENCY
AND DELINQUENCY

BY
OLGA BRIDGMAN, M.D., PH.D.

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AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF ABNORMAL
CHILDREN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENCY
AND DELINQUENCY

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL SATISFACTION OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BY

OLGA LOUISE BRIDGMAN

MAY, 1915

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INTRODUCTION

The following study of abnormal children has been made in the Psychological Clinic of the Children's Out-Patient Department of the University of California Hospital in San Francisco. The Psychological Clinic was established in January, 1914, under the direct supervision of the Department of Pediatrics of the Medical School and with the co-operation of the Department of Psychology of the University in Berkeley. It was created in response to a recognized demand for the special services it could render, in that many defective and peculiar children were appearing and were not being cared for satisfactorily. The Psychological Clinic has been most fortunate in its association with a medical school and hospital; through their special clinics it has been possible to determine accurately the child's physical condition and to observe the effects of appropriate care on his mental progress. With the assistance of the Social Service Department of the Hospital, information has been assembled as to home conditions—the social and financial standing of the family—and as to hereditary traits.

Opportunities for special studies.—It has been possible in this clinic, perhaps largely because of its connection with a state university, to investigate certain particular problems which arise in connection with the study of mental deficiency. A large proportion of the children coming to the clinic are dependent or delinquent, and there is, as a consequence, an opportunity for studying the problems of dependency and delinquency and their relation to that of mental abnormality. It is also possible to a limited extent, to study the hereditary tendencies shown; this is due to the fact that, in most cases, the parents and brothers and sisters of the child can be consulted and observed personally. In several cases, it has been possible to make actual examinations of all the children in a family. This is necessarily an exceedingly limited study of hereditary tendencies, if it can

be considered such a study at all, but the observations that have been made are as accurate as actual personal contact with the individuals concerned can make them.

Definition of types of environment.—Considerable stress has been laid on environmental conditions in this study. Under this title, we have discriminated as to *good environment*, *unsatisfactory environment*, and *bad environment*. It is simple enough to decide in extreme cases whether an environment has been uniformly good or bad, or where both conditions have existed, to draw a distinct line where the bad environment has left off and the good one begun. On the other hand, there are many cases where the distinction is not at all clear, where the environment has perhaps never been actually good, and at the same time never positively bad in the sense that the child has been surrounded by vicious influences. A child in an institution, for example, is not ordinarily considered as having a satisfactory environment. To be sure, this child is usually well fed and comfortably housed and clothed, but there is lacking that most important element, namely, personal contact and interest, which may be found even in a poverty-stricken home, where proper food cannot always be obtained. Again, the child-placing agencies place their children in boarding-homes, but there is a vast difference in the homes which are found. Of course, the mental ability and physical appearance of the child itself determine the type of such a home to a large extent. Good homes, where the keenest sympathy is given, can be provided with comparative ease for the bright, attractive child. But the dull child, in poor health and of unprepossessing appearance, is not so easily provided for. This child may go from home to home, usually to the less desirable and more temporary homes, and because of the frequent changes, may actually be worse off than are some of the children in institutions. Then as to the institutions, there is as great a variation as in the foster-homes. Certain of the smaller institutions are doing excellent work. Controlled as they are by trained persons, and with officers alert to their problem and to the personal needs of their charges,

they furnish homes which unquestionably surpass in efficiency many of the less desirable foster-homes. But in some of the less efficient orphanages, it is a different story; in such cases it must be agreed that even a poor foster-home would be a great improvement. Then too, the same environment will have an entirely different effect on different children, depending again on the child itself. Some children who are forced to look out for themselves to a greater or less extent even in early childhood, develop a self-reliance and a strength of character which is quite remarkable, while other children of whom no greater requirements are made, become lawless and may go down completely because of lack of control and direction. Therefore, environment will have to be judged largely by the effect it has on the child and not in an abstract way. Poverty and privation may early bring out high traits of character in certain individuals, whereas in other cases, where there is less inherent strength, they result in the child's following the path of least resistance and developing the worst side of its character. In deciding as to environment, then, whether it is to be regarded as *good*, *bad*, or *unsatisfactory*, each child has been considered as an individual, and its surroundings have been judged, first, without regard to their influence on the child, and again, solely from the effect they have had on the child. An environment has not been classified as *bad* unless it was actually vicious and of a type to have a bad lasting effect even on the most promising child. Children in institutions and those in foster-homes have all been considered carefully and have been held as having had unsatisfactory or good surroundings as each particular case has seemed to warrant. This method of classification as to type of environment, unfortunately leaves much room for personal judgment, but it has been felt that the ultimate conclusions would be more fair than they could have been had whole groups of children—as for example, all children in foster-homes or all children in institutions—been placed in one or the other class, without special regard to the variations within each group.

Definition of dependency and delinquency.—The two most important terms used in this report are *dependency* and *delinquency*; and that there may be no uncertainty as to the exact sense in which the terms are used, it will be necessary to define the present usage of the terms as clearly as is possible. The term *delinquent* will herein be applied to: (1) all such children as have actually violated any state law or city ordinance; (2) all such as associate with vicious companions, absent themselves from home, or are growing up in circumstances that make it highly probable that they themselves will lead vicious or criminal lives. *Dependent* will be used in referring to those children who have no proper homes or guardians, where financial dependency is virtually the whole problem. A child will be called *delinquent* whenever it has acquired such knowledge or habits as make it an undesirable companion for other children, and *dependent* only where there are present no such traits to be overcome, and where the child has shown no marked abnormality of character, that makes it an undesirable companion for other children. By making use of such a distinction as this it will not be difficult to make a division into the two classes, in which the necessary care to be provided will be clearly of a different type. This terminology is in the main in accordance with the definitions of dependency and delinquency which occur in most of the juvenile court laws in this country. A few of the older laws still adhere to the old terminology, including under the heading *delinquency* only such children as have violated statutes or ordinances or are incorrigible, leaving out of consideration the large number of children who, because of bad environment or inherent anti-social tendencies, are in serious "danger of coming to lead criminal or dissolute lives." On the other hand, in the juvenile court law enacted in California in 1913,¹ the term *neglected child* was introduced, to refer to the same class of children as is ordinarily regarded as *dependent*.

¹ The new Juvenile Court Law of California, passed in 1915, does not distinguish by definition the various groups of children but refers to them all simply as "wards of the Court."

A delinquent child according to this law, is one who has violated some statute of the state or some city ordinance. A dependent child is one who is in serious danger of growing up to lead a criminal or dissolute life. This distinction has been made on account of a growing objection to the term *delinquent*, because of the stigma it attaches to the child and of the difficulty it raises later in attempts to provide for him an honorable place in the community. This feeling is in accord with the general opinion of those working with the children in the courts, that since these are only the victims of unfortunate circumstances, it should not be possible to attach to them any blame or responsibility for their unfavorable situation. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, the term *delinquency* will be used in this report in the same sense in which it is used in the states of Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and Washington, in all of which states the law regards as delinquent any child who (a) violates a state law or a city or village ordinance; (b) is incorrigible; (c) knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons; (d) absents himself from home without the consent of parent or guardian, or for no sufficient cause; (e) is growing up in idleness or crime; (f) knowingly visits or enters a house of ill-fame; (g) visits gambling houses or saloons; (h) wanders on the streets at night or about railroad yards or tracks; (i) jumps off and on trains; (j) enters a car or engine without authority; (k) uses vile, obscene or indecent language, or (l) is immoral or indecent. In short, a delinquent child is one who needs the supervision of the court, both for the furtherance of his own interests, and for the interests of the community in which he lives.

This study has been made of the first four hundred and fifty cases coming to the clinic from January, 1914, to January, 1915. These cases were drawn from widely varying sources, the vast majority, however, coming from public institutions such as the juvenile court, or charity organizations.

SPECIAL STUDY OF THE GROUP OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Of the total number of children examined, two hundred and five have been classified as delinquent. These children have been sent to the clinic for mental examination by several different public agencies but the largest number are juvenile-court cases. Of the total of two hundred and five cases, one hundred and eighty-five were referred to the clinic by the juvenile court, ten came from other departments of the University of California Hospital, and there were scattered cases from various other sources.

TABLE 1.—AGENCIES SENDING DELINQUENT CHILDREN FOR MENTAL
EXAMINATION; NUMBER OF CASES

Juvenile Court	185
University of California Hospital	10
Public Schools	2
Associated Charities of San Francisco	1
St. Francis Technical School	1
City and County Hospital	1
St. Catherine's Home	1
Detention Hospital	1
Boys and Girls Aid Society	1
Protestant Orphan Asylum	1
Children's Home-Finding Society	1
Total	205

TABLE 2.—OFFENSES OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Boys

Stealing	43
Incorrigibility	33
Truancy	24
Running away from home	13
Vagrancy	10
Bad personal sex habits	9
Immoral sex relations	5

Girls

Immoral sex relations	83
Incorrigibility	24
Running away from home	8
Bad personal sex habits	6
Truancy	2
Drunkenness	2

Offenses of delinquent children.—Of the delinquent children examined, ninety-eight were boys and one hundred and seven girls. These children, who came from widely different homes, were brought to the attention of their guardians as delinquent for a variety of reasons. Of the total number of delinquent children, sixty-two were dependent as well. These dependent delinquents have been included in the statistical tables of the delinquents but not in those of the dependents. The offenses committed show considerable variation with sex. Forty-three of the boys classified as delinquent had been guilty of stealing, this being the commonest form of delinquency on the part of the boys. None of the girls, on the other hand, had been guilty of stealing as the primary offense, but eighty-three had been guilty of sex immorality. Some of these differences may be fairly easily explained. In their earlier years, boys are allowed much greater freedom from supervision than are girls, and as a result a much smaller number of little girls appear before the juvenile court than of little boys. Also, boys are brought before the court on much less provocation than are girls and as a result of this tendency to shelter girls from the disgrace associated with a court hearing, they seldom appear until they have committed some comparatively serious offense and it is imperative that active measures be taken to improve the situation. The average age of the boys is approximately thirteen years, and there are more thirteen-year-old boys than any others appearing in the group of delinquents. The average age of the girls is roughly fifteen years, approximately two years greater than that of the boys. However, there are far more sixteen-year-old girls in the delinquent group than of any other age.

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
6 yrs.....	1	4 yrs.....	1
7 “.....	1	8 “.....	1
8 “.....	4	9 “.....	1
9 “.....	10	10 “.....	2
10 “.....	3	11 “.....	2
11 “.....	5	12 “.....	2
12 “.....	12	13 “.....	5
13 “.....	17	14 “.....	10
14 “.....	12	15 “.....	11
15 “.....	10	16 “.....	25
16 “.....	10	17 “.....	19
17 “.....	9	18 “.....	15
18 “.....	1	19 “.....	7
19 “.....	1	20 “.....	1
25 “.....	1	21 “.....	1
26 “.....	1	23 “.....	2
	—	24 “.....	1
Total	98	31 “.....	1
		Total	107

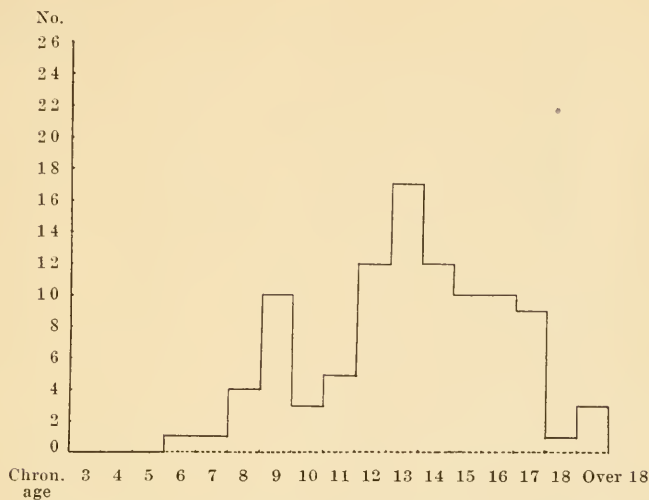
TABLE 4.—DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
MENTAL AGE

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
2 yrs.....	1	5 yrs.....	1
5 “.....	2	6 “.....	1
6 “.....	3	7 “.....	4
7 “.....	4	8 “.....	3
8 “.....	7	9 “.....	15
9 “.....	16	10 “.....	16
10 “.....	17	11 “.....	26
11 “.....	26	12 “.....	18
12 “.....	9	15 “.....	21
15 “.....	10	18 “.....	2
18 “.....	2		—
? “.....	1	Total	107
Total	98		

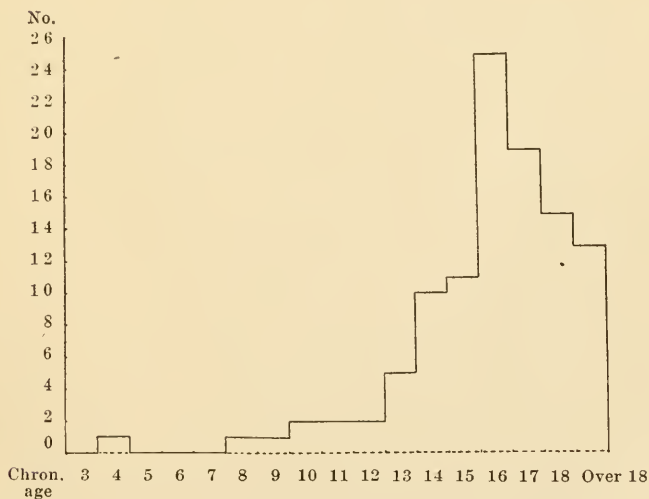
TABLE 5.—DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
CHRONOLOGICAL AND MENTAL AGES

<i>Boys</i>															
Mental age	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	15	18	?	Total
Chron. age															
6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
8	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
9	1	1	..	2	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	9
10	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
11	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	5
12	1	6	3	..	2	..	..	..	12
13	1	..	..	..	2	3	9	2	..	..	..	17
14	1	1	..	4	..	5	..	1	..	..	12
15	1	1	..	..	2	2	1	2	2	..	11
16	1	..	1	3	2	3	..	..	10
17	1	1	4	1	2	..	..	9
18	1	..	..	1
Over 18	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	3
Total	1	..	..	2	3	4	7	16	17	26	9	10	2	1	98

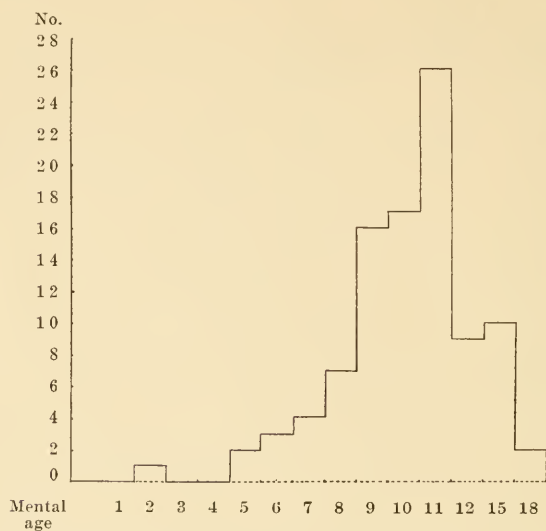
<i>Girls</i>												
Mental age	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	15	18	Total
Chron. age												
4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
5
6
7
8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
11	2	..	..	..	2
12	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
13	1	..	3	1	..	..	5
14	1	..	..	2	2	4	1	..	10
15	1	..	2	3	2	3	..	11
16	4	4	9	3	5	..	25
17	1	1	1	4	5	7	..	19
18	2	4	2	2	3	2	15
Over 18	2	..	5	3	..	1	2	..	13
Total..	..	1	1	4	3	15	16	26	18	21	2	107



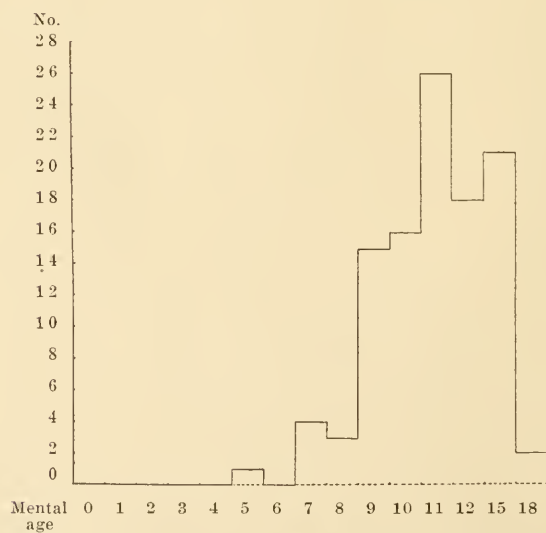
Graph 1. Distribution of delinquent boys according to chronological age.



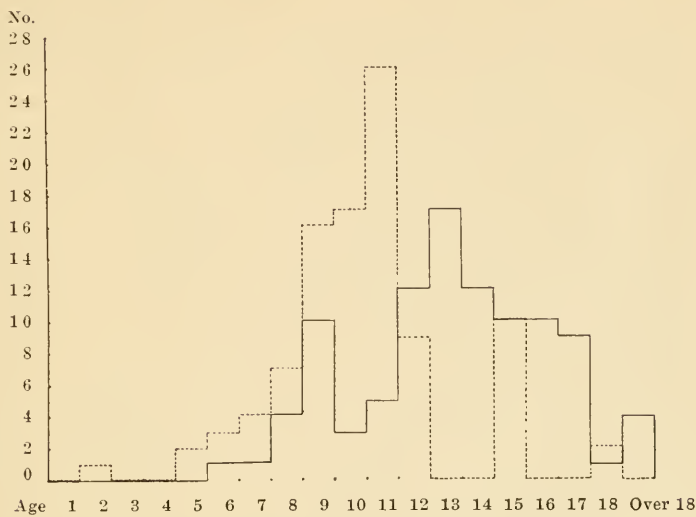
Graph 2. Distribution of delinquent girls according to chronological age.



Graph 3. Distribution of delinquent boys according to mental age.

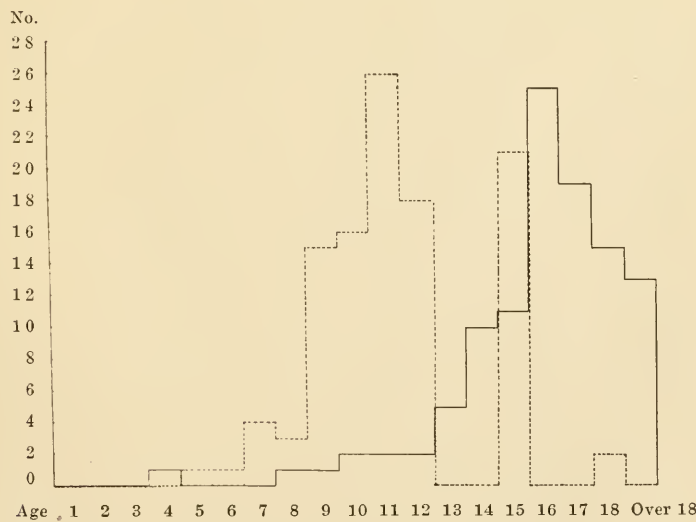


Graph 4. Distribution of delinquent girls according to mental age.



Graph 5. Comparison of mental and chronological ages of delinquent boys.

Mental age, dotted line.
Chronological age, solid line.



Graph 6. Comparison of mental and chronological ages of delinquent girls.

Mental age, dotted line.
Chronological age, solid line.

Measurement of intelligence by the Binet scale.—Inspection of the preceding tables and graphs brings out several rather striking facts. In the case of both boys and girls, the mental age is lower than the chronological age, and in both groups there are more delinquent children having a mental age of eleven years than any other. This is a mental age about which there is considerable debate, and not a few conservative persons feel that a child having this mental age, no matter how much older he is according to chronological age, should not be considered as being actually feeble-minded. It is probably true that there are individuals who are not above eleven years in mental age who are not feeble-minded in any sense. Occasionally special factors enter in, such as marked lack of normal educational opportunities, or lack of fluency in the use of English, this latter difficulty showing in foreign-born persons or even in American-born children when a foreign language is spoken in the home.

There is another type of case, found oftener in agricultural districts than in cities, in which the ability to think in abstract terms is very poorly developed. Persons of this type may be physically vigorous and capable of managing their affairs in a foresighted way, while decidedly below the average in their ability to acquire book knowledge. They are usually the descendants of generations who have lived by using their hands rather than their wits; thus with an innate lack of interest in school work, if not an actual distaste for it, they fail to profit by scholastic training and remain dunces throughout their school course. Along practical lines, however, and in the particular directions in which their interests extend, they show marked ability and keenness. But such cases as these are unusual and stand out from the group of really defective persons because of the peculiar features which have been mentioned.

As a rule the child brought up under average conditions, who has a mental age of only eleven years after having attained a chronological age of fifteen years or more, is a defective person

as judged by other standards than the Binet scale alone. A good many of these children are very deceptive in their appearance of intelligence and under favorable circumstances they may never stand out from the rest of society as being abnormal. They are, however, distinctly below the average in all kinds of ability, and are peculiarly unable to adapt themselves to trying or unusual circumstances. They make up to a considerable extent the great body of incompetents, often become vicious and criminal, and form a large part of those groups who are in chronic need of aid from public charities, or who fill the almshouses, jails and prisons of this country. The fact that a few of them under favorable conditions seem to be able to look after themselves without special care, does not make the class as a whole any the less dangerous, and it seems obvious that for most of them the exercise of full personal liberty should be limited in some way if they are to be supervised in anything like an adequate manner. They must always be regarded as potentially anti-social and should be taken in charge by the state at as early an age as possible. If this were done in a wise and humane way, it would probably do away with a great deal of petty crime and would diminish to a great extent the number of women becoming prostitutes. The group of children, then, having a mental age of eleven years and retarded more than four years mentally, will, in this paper, be included in the moron group. Those children with a mental age of twelve years who are retarded more than four years are classified as defective, but are not considered feeble-minded. Those children with a mental age of fifteen years or over have in every case been regarded as having normal intelligence. This terminology and method of classification is in the main in accordance with that described by E. B. Huey² and Henry H. Goddard.³

² Huey, E. B., *Backward and feeble-minded children*. Baltimore, Warwick and York, 1912, pp. 4-10.

³ Goddard, H. H., *Feeble-mindedness: its causes and consequences*. New York, Macmillan, 1914, pp. 4-6.

TABLE 6.—DIAGNOSIS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN AS GRADED BY THE
BINET SCALE

Idiot	1
Imbecile	5
Moron	69
Defective	14
Backward	50
Normal	64
Precocious	1
? (Insane)	1
<hr/>	
Total	205

Of the whole group of two hundred and five cases, seventy-five have been graded as feeble-minded, a proportion of approximately 32 per cent, this percentage including those cases indicated in table 6, as *idiots*, *imbeciles* and *morons*. Of those referred to as defective, some will probably deteriorate and finally fall into the class of children actually feeble-minded, and in the *backward* group a considerable proportion will almost certainly fail to develop normally and will later have to be regarded as feeble-minded persons. Those children having normal intelligence as estimated by the Binet scale are interesting, indeed puzzling. Of this number comparatively few can be regarded as average children. Thirteen out of a total of sixty-five, or 20 per cent, seem quite normal and apparently have become delinquent only because exposed to especially unfavorable conditions or because of a marked lack of the supervision and training which falls to the lot of the average child. The delinquency in these cases might almost be considered accidental, as something from which the child could have been protected with little difficulty. For these children it is only necessary to provide favorable surroundings, and good results may be hoped for. But as to the rest, the problem is a different one. All of these have manifested, either because of innate tendencies or because of long-continued bad environment, serious defects of character. It is undoubtedly true that had they been placed in favorable conditions, many of these children would

at the present time to all intents and purposes have been normal. It is a most unfortunate thing, that those children with bad hereditary tendencies, who have the greatest need of careful moral and mental training, and who should be protected both from mental and physical excesses, should be those who are most exposed to moral and physical dangers. It is such individuals as these who represent the first stages on the downward road toward mental disease, who are responsible for much of the crime which is committed, and who become the parents of true defectives.

Limitations to use of Binet scale.—Table 7 suggests the limitations to the use of the Binet scale as the only method of examination. Surely nothing could be more absurd or misleading than to regard as normal the group of children here tabulated, simply because, according to the intelligence scale, they have a normal or at least approximately normal mental age.

TABLE 7.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN GRADED AS NORMAL BY THE
BINET SCALE

Apparently normal in every way	13
Persistently immoral sexually	14
Generally irresponsible	13
Constitutionally psychopathic	8
Guilty of inveterate thieving	7
Obsessed with <i>Wandertlust</i>	5
Perverted sexually	3
Wantonly cruel	1
Insane (now in asylum)	1
<hr/>	
Total	65

Binet, himself, in the use of his scale, made no pretense of dealing with all sides of a complex nature, and though this system of tests furnishes a surprising variety of information, it nevertheless gives far from the whole story. First of all, it is necessary to know what opportunities a child has had in his own home and neighborhood. Then hereditary tendencies must be taken into consideration. And perhaps most important of

all, it is necessary to understand the child's point of view, his attitude toward persons and things, and his emotional response to his experiences and to situations which he is called upon to meet. A careful interpretation of even such simply conducted tests as those in the Binet scale gives some information along all of these lines, but not nearly enough. In the actual administration of tests made in this study, the method of examination which has given most satisfaction has been the use of the Binet scale as modified by Henry H. Goddard, supplemented by a large number of tests designed to emphasize some points which the Binet tests merely touch upon and to test more thoroughly such complex faculties as persistence, interest, judgment and ability to make more or less complicated associations. The Binet scale has one very important point in its favor; it gives a definite and communicable finding. In making use of the results of mental examinations of delinquent children it is necessary that the reports be made intelligible to those officials who finally rule as to the child's further care. The terms *mental age* and *retardation* are easily made clear to anyone, which is a great advantage; but when these tests are used indiscriminately the results may be and often are misleading, and the whole system may work to the detriment of the child and of the scale itself, by creating impressions which are not justifiable.

Employments of delinquent children.—The occupations under which these children can be grouped, to a large extent fall into a few important classes. More children are still in school than are employed in any other way, eighty-six, or 42 per cent, being school children. Fifty, or 24 per cent, are not employed in any remunerative way even though they are out of school. The paid occupations in which these children have been engaged are similar, requiring no previous training and but little intelligence. Thirty-four, or approximately 17 per cent, are engaged in domestic service. This large proportion of delinquent children, nearly all girls, employed as domestic servants does not necessarily point to this as an undesirable occupation, or as one which by its very nature contributes to delinquency. Domestic service

TABLE 8.—OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH DELINQUENT CHILDREN HAVE BEEN
ENGAGED

Schoolchild	86
Without employment	50
Domestic servant	34
Factory worker	6
Housewife	4
Cashier	3
Newsboy	3
Laborer	2
Messenger	2
Saleswoman	2
Wagon-boy	1
Cashgirl	1
Prize-fighter	1
Telephone operator	1
Stockgirl	1
Clerk in ice-cream parlor	1
Candy packer	1
Gardener's helper	1
Office boy	1
Comptometer operator	1
Multigrapher	1
Of unknown occupation	2
Total	205

is almost the only occupation by means of which an untrained, often sadly incompetent girl can obtain for herself food and a comfortable room. For girls who are at best capable of doing only routine work and who are not trained to do that, there is no other alternative than housework; many of the girls themselves admit that they dislike this work, but cannot in any other way earn enough to live. The problem of training incompetent individuals to some useful employment and of providing employment for them, is one whose solution has been attempted only in a small way, though the need of effective measures for looking after these individuals is a very pressing one. At the present time it is a pitiful reflection on the inadequacy of relief measures, that so many charitable agencies and penal institutions find it necessary to regard the marriage of a delinquent girl, even though she may be known to be mentally defective, as the best

possible solution of the problem of her case. This may relieve present conditions to a slight extent; it at least transfers the legal responsibility in most cases to other shoulders; but the situation will have to be faced by another generation, if not by this one, and the problem will not be easier to solve because of years of delay and shortsightedness in dealing with it. If defective-delinquent girls marry, they will probably marry persons like themselves. This seems to be a social law for which much evidence can be found. Their children will in all probability be at least as defective as themselves, and in another generation the whole situation will not have improved but will almost certainly have become more serious.

Parents of delinquent children: types of character.—Even a brief and necessarily superficial study of the parents of this group of delinquent children shows that very many, though by no means all, are potentially if not actually anti-social. Comparatively few of these children come from good homes, and poverty, vice and incompetency are the common findings. The parents are variously employed and except that there is a preponderance of seasonal and unskilled trades, and of those in which employment is very irregular, nothing is especially noticeable. (See table 10.) Table 9 shows in a general way

TABLE 9.—CONDITION OF PARENTS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Both parents inefficient	92
Both parents normal	33
Both parents unknown	26
One parent inefficient, the other unknown	33
Mother normal, father inefficient	9
Father inefficient, mother insane	2
Father inefficient, mother neurotic	2
Mother normal, father insane	2
Father normal, mother inefficient	1
Both parents neurotic	1
Both parents insane	1
Father normal, mother insane	1
Mother normal, father neurotic	1
Mother inefficient, father eccentric	1
Total	205

TABLE 10.—OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

<i>Father</i>			
Laborer	12	Electrician	1
Carpenter	10	Furniture merchant	1
Gang-foreman	5	Old-clothes man	1
Cook	5	Musician	1
Teamster	5	Gardener	1
Stevedore	4	Balloon-maker	1
Fruit-peddler	4	Travelling salesman	1
Stationary engineer	4	Piano-tuner	1
Physician	3	Architect	1
Loughshoreman	3	Waiter	1
Janitor	3	Night-starter (ferry)	1
Chiropodist	2	Cobbler	1
Horse-trader	2	Candy-seller at theatre	1
Painter	2	Miner's helper	1
Machinist	2	Marble-worker	1
Fireman	2	Police officer	1
Candy-factory hand	2	Stationary fireman	1
Tailor	2	Civil engineer	1
Night watchman	2	Cabinet-maker	1
Restaurant manager	2	Soldier	1
Mattress-maker	2	Dyer and cleaner	1
Boiler-maker	1	Promoter	1
Post-office clerk	1	Special policeman	1
Bartender	1	Horse-trainer	1
Car-oiler	1	Iron-moulder	1
Real-estate agent	1	Porter	1
Stock accountant	1	Owner of cigar stand	1
Gambler	1	Tanner	1
Plaster-of-Paris statue maker..	1	No occupation	7
Proprietor of bakery and chophouse	1	Occupation unknown	81
Tinner	1	Total	205
Metal-roofer	1		
<i>Mother</i>			
Housewife	118	Trained nurse	1
Servant by the day	11	Chambermaid	1
Laundry-worker	8	Dyer and cleaner	1
"Practical" nurse	3	Milliner	1
Manager of boarding-house	2	Real-estate dealer	1
Factory hand	2	No occupation	1
Telephone operator	1	Occupation unknown	51
Paper-seller	1		
Solicitor	1	Total	205
Waitress	1		

the types of parents of the delinquent children who have been studied. The term *inefficient* has been used of persons who are distinctly below normal, either in character or intelligence or both, persons who must be considered social failures. They may be well-meaning in every way, but unable to cope with situations at all complex; or they may be vicious and degenerate as well as incompetent. This group includes the drunken, immoral, generally shiftless and worthless individuals who seem often to recognize no responsibility, and who would be unable to bear it were it recognized. Of the total number of delinquent children, ninety-two, or 45 per cent, have both parents inefficient. Without doubt many of these parents are mentally defective and are of the same type as the children, having probably a mental age of eleven years or even less. Only thirty-three, or 16 per cent, of the delinquent children have both parents normal, as far as can be ascertained.

TABLE 11.—FINANCIAL STATUS OF FAMILIES OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Dependent on public aid	
Children in institutions	39
Children whose families are in chronic need of aid	15
Children in foster-homes	5
Widows'-pension cases	3
<hr/>	
Total	62
Independent of public aid	
Children with poverty in homes	47
Children with vicious homes	44
Children with brutal parents	1
Children with good homes	49
Insufficient data	2
<hr/>	
Total	143

Presence or absence of parents.—Table 12 shows the number of cases in which one parent is absent from the home either because of death or desertion. This tabulation takes into account only the fact of the presence or absence of one or both of the parents, entirely without regard to the character of the

parent. Some parents who are living and apparently providing a home, are most undesirable in character, and in some cases it is known that parents who are dead were in every way normal. The presence or the absence of the parents from the home is of importance only in so far as it shows a relationship between delinquency and abnormal family situations. In thirty-two cases the mother is absent from the family, four mothers having

TABLE 12.—FAMILY STATUS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN, ACCORDING TO
PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF PARENTS

Both parents living together	71
Father living, mother dead or unknown	28
Father dead or unknown, mother living	43
Mother at home, deserted by father	21
Father at home, deserted by mother	4
Both parents dead or unknown	32
Both parents deserted	3
No information	3
Total	205

deserted and twenty-eight being dead or unknown. On the other hand, in sixty-four cases the fathers are absent from the family, twenty-one fathers having deserted and forty-three being dead or unknown. In just twice as many instances then is the father the missing parent when only one is absent. That dependency should result more often because of absence of father than of mother may be explained in part by two facts: First, that the mother when left alone is more helpless, largely for financial reasons, than is the father, hence the children lack more of the necessary supervision than when the father is left alone, the father being able to provide servants or other care. Second, the desertion of the family is more common by the father than by the mother. Table 13 shows the families, already included in

TABLE 13.—PARENTS NOT LIVING TOGETHER

Divorced	10
Separated	21
Total	31

table 12, where the parents are not living together. Of these families, thirty-one in all, ten parents have been divorced and the rest have voluntarily separated, or one parent has deserted.

Nativity of parents.—Of the parents of the delinquent and the dependent children, tabulations have been made of the place of birth, and the results compared with the corresponding re-

TABLE 14.—NATIVITY OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Native-born of native parentage	73	36%
Native-born of mixed parentage	16	8%
Native-born of foreign parentage	61	30%
Foreign-born of foreign parentage	22	10%
Parentage unknown	33	16%
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Total	205	100%

NOTE.—The term *mixed* in this and other tables means that one parent is native-born, the other foreign-born.

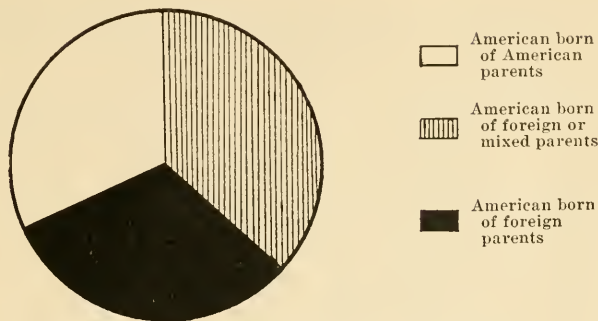
TABLE 15.—NATIVITY OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Native-born of native parentage	34	26%
Native-born of mixed parentage	8	6%
Native-born of foreign parentage	44	33%
Foreign-born of foreign parentage	13	9%
Parentage unknown	34	26%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	133	100%

TABLE 16.—PARENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF SAN FRANCISCO
U. S. CENSUS REPORT, 1910

Native-born of native parentage	31.4%
Native-born of foreign or mixed parentage	36.9%
Foreign-born of foreign parentage	31.4%

ports in the last United States Census. Comparisons have first been made of the two large groups, the American-born and the foreign-born, and in another table the nationalities of the foreign-born have been compared with one another. These comparisons are not entirely satisfactory. Many nationalities do not adapt themselves readily to the customs and requirements of this country during the first or even the second generation, hence the



Graph 7. Parentage of the population of San Francisco.

TABLE 17—POPULATION OF SAN FRANCISCO, NATIVE-BORN OF FOREIGN PARENTS OR FOREIGN-BORN LISTED UNDER NATIVE COUNTRY OF PARENTS, COMPUTED FROM 13TH U. S. CENSUS REPORT, 1910

Ireland	54,413
Germany	48,890
Italy	27,124
England	14,050
Sweden	9,736
France	8,931
Canada	8,073
Russia	6,825
Austria	6,315
Scotland	5,240
Norway	4,735
Denmark	4,243
Switzerland	3,832
Greece	2,274
Finland	1,846
Mexico	1,763
Australia	1,347
Hungary	1,247
Spain	1,170
Wales	693
Portugal	570
Holland	500
All others	24,350
Total	238,167

TABLE 18.—NATIVE COUNTRY OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS OF
DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Both parents born in	
Italy	22
Ireland	12
Germany	9
France	4
England	3
Portugal	3
Austria	3
Russian Poland	2
Russia	2
Spain	2
Mexico	1
Porto Rico	1
Norway	1
Canada	1
Sweden	1
Both parents foreign, but from different countries	
	16
Total	
	83

TABLE 19.—NATIVE COUNTRY OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS OF
DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Both parents born in	
Italy	12
Spain	8
France	7
Ireland	5
Germany	3
Porto Rico	3
Chile	2
Mexico	2
Hawaii	2
Portugal	1
Russia	1
Both parents foreign but from different countries	
	11
Total	
	57

TABLE 20.—NUMBER OF DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN SAN FRANCISCO RELATIVE TO TOTAL POPULATION OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE, OR FOREIGN-BORN

Population of San Francisco foreign-born or of foreign parentage		Delinquents	Dependents
Ireland	54,413	12	5
Germany	48,890	9	3
Italy	27,124	22	12
England	14,050	3	..
Sweden	9,736	1	..
France	8,931	4	7
Canada	8,073	1	..
Russia	6,825	4	1
Austria	6,315	3	..
Scotland	5,240	..	..
Norway	4,735	1	..
Denmark	4,243	..	..
Switzerland	3,832	..	..
Greece	2,274	..	..
Finland	1,846	..	..
Mexico	1,763	1	2
Australia	1,347	..	..
Hungary	1,247	..	..
Spain	1,170	2	8
Wales	693	..	..
Portugal	570	3	1
Holland	500	..	..
All others	24,350	17	18
Total	238,167	83	57

conditions found among the immigrants often continue among persons born in this country. In nearly all of our large cities there are whole districts where the population, though made up to a large extent of persons born in the United States, still continues to use its own language, the social condition here resembling that under which they lived in their own country rather than that commonly found in this. These groups, though American-born, are still unassimilated immigrants; this difficulty of nationality is one which cannot be overlooked in working with them. A rather striking thing in tables 14 and 15 is the small proportion of delinquents and dependents found in the group of

TABLE 21.—DATA OF TABLE 20 RESTATED AS RATIOS TO THE TOTAL GROUPS

Country	Total, foreign derived population of San Francisco	Delinquent	Dependent
Ireland .....	.228	.145	.088
Germany .....	.205	.109	.053
Italy .....	.114	.265	.211
England .....	.059	.036	.....
Sweden .....	.041	.012	.....
France .....	.038	.048	.123
Canada .....	.034	.012	.....
Russia .....	.029	.048	.017
Austria .....	.027	.036	.....
Scotland .....	.022	.....	.....
Norway .....	.019	.012	.....
Denmark .....	.018	.....	.....
Switzerland .....	.016	.....	.....
Greece .....	.010	.....	.....
Finland .....	.008	.....	.....
Mexico .....	.007	.012	.035
Australia .....	.006	.....	.....
Hungary .....	.005	.....	.....
Spain .....	.005	.024	.140
Wales .....	.003	.....	.....
Portugal .....	.002	.036	.017
Holland .....	.002	.....	.....
All others .....	.102	.205	.316
Total	1.000	1.000	1.000

foreign-born persons, and the comparatively large number of dependents and of delinquents in the group of native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. This may in part be explained by the fact that the larger number of foreign-born persons are above the age at which they would come before the juvenile court when first admitted to this country, so that the number of foreign-born juvenile delinquents would not represent the correct proportion of delinquency actually occurring in the foreign-born population. However, the proportions of dependents and delinquents in each foreign nationality as compared with the population of that foreign nationality in San Francisco, correspond rather closely.

As has already been pointed out, the number of cases available for this study is not sufficient to make the results conclusive, though they agree on the whole with conclusions of other investigators. As regards the different nationalities represented, the most striking single fact brought out is the comparatively large number of Italians having dependent and delinquent children. More children of Italian parentage are delinquent than of any other, whereas, relative to the number of population, Italy is third on the list as determined by the thirteenth United States Census, and far below either Germany or Ireland. (See table 17.) This result tends to confirm the idea, already common, that the Italians as they are now coming into this country—that is, from southern Italy and Sicily—are on the whole undesirable additions to the population. An interesting fact with regard to Germany is brought out by comparing the percentage of delinquent children with that of the dependents. Approximately 11 per cent of the total number of delinquent children are the children of German-born parents, while only 5 per cent of the dependents are of German parentage. In the case of the Italians, on the other hand, the percentages indicating delinquency and dependency are much more nearly equal. These facts would suggest that the difficulty with the Italian group is a rather marked inability to cope with the situation met in city life, whereas with the Germans this difficulty is not prominent. The delinquency of the Italians may be purely secondary, due to their lack of adaptability to trying conditions, whereas in the case of the Germans other factors enter in.

Environment of delinquent children.—Table 22, showing the environment of delinquent children, judged according to the scheme previously described (see pp. 3 ff.), shows that in the vast majority of cases the surroundings in which these unfortunate children have developed have been very far from desirable. Of the two hundred and five delinquent children, only forty-seven, or 23 per cent, have had such an environment as falls to the lot of the average child. Sixty, or 29 per cent, have

TABLE 22.—ENVIRONMENT OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN: CASES UNDER EACH

Environment always good	47	23%
Environment always bad	60	29%
Environment always unsatisfactory	94	46%
Environment unknown	4	2%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	205	100%

grown up in positively vicious surroundings, while ninety-four, or 45 per cent, have had surroundings which were not satisfactory, though they were not actually vicious. The problem of the unsuccessful home, therefore, is seen to loom large in the whole problem of delinquency. Heredity is probably the important factor in the production of actual feeble-mindedness, but in the causation of delinquency, environment is as large a factor as heredity, if not a larger one. It has been well said that heredity gives the plasticity of the substance, environment the mould into which it is poured. Hence, since it is recognized that the development of the moral sense depends to a large degree on the early training and environment, it must also be agreed that much of juvenile delinquency is directly the result of a defective environment. To be sure, defective or markedly abnormal parents could hardly give their children normal homes, so that, in very many cases, the children with bad hereditary tendencies are also subjected to the worst possible surroundings. That they themselves should be abnormal is the only possible outcome.

SPECIAL STUDY OF THE GROUP OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The next group to be considered will be the group of dependent children. Of the total number of children coming to the clinic, one hundred and thirty-three were dependent to a large extent on public aid. These children were for the most part referred to the clinic by public agencies, the great majority coming from the associated charities' organizations and the juvenile courts. The following table shows the distribution of dependent children according to the agencies interested in their care. The dependent children, as a whole, are probably less

TABLE 23.—AGENCIES REFERRING DEPENDENT CHILDREN TO THE CLINIC;
NUMBER OF CASES

Associated Charities	56
Juvenile Court	35
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum	13
Catholic Humane Bureau	7
University of California Hospital	5
Pacific Hebrew Orphanage	4
Widows' Pension Bureau	2
Children's Home Society	2
Children's Hospital	2
Protestant Orphan Asylum	1
People's Place (Social Settlement)	1
Nurses' Settlement	1
Hebrew Board of Relief	1
State Children's Visitor	1
McKinley Orphanage	1
School	1
<hr/>	
Total	133

TABLE 24.—SEX OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Boys	66
Girls	67
<hr/>	
Total	133

representative of dependency than are the delinquents; it is therefore likely that in some instances the conclusions will be less accurate for the dependent cases. The larger number of these children are the children of parents who are almost continuously in need of aid from public agencies. However, a goodly number has been sent from orphanages and home-finding agencies and it has been gratifying to note a growing tendency on the part of such institutions to demand that a child, before being placed for adoption, shall have a clean bill of mental and physical health. This policy can hardly fail to increase the confidence of the public in the child-placing agencies and will perhaps also increase the number of careful and conscientious persons who will be willing to undertake the great responsibility of caring for dependent children in good homes.

Age of dependent children.—The average age of the dependent children is, as would be expected, less than that of the delinquents, and it is unfortunately true that as they grow older a certain proportion of the dependents, especially those whose parents are continuously in need of public aid and whose homes

TABLE 25.—DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
4 yrs.....	2	5 yrs.....	5
5 “.....	3	6 “.....	2
6 “.....	5	7 “.....	2
7 “.....	6	8 “.....	3
8 “.....	8	9 “.....	6
9 “.....	4	10 “.....	7
10 “.....	5	11 “.....	7
11 “.....	4	12 “.....	8
12 “.....	9	13 “.....	8
13 “.....	5	14 “.....	11
14 “.....	6	15 “.....	2
15 “.....	7	16 “.....	2
18 “.....	2	17 “.....	2
	—	25 “.....	1
Total	66	36 “.....	1
		Total	67

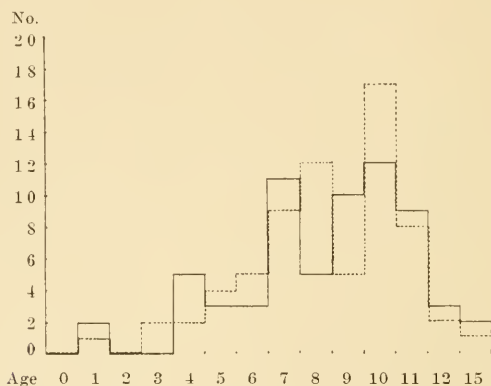
TABLE 26.—DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO MENTAL AGE

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
1 yr.....	2	1 yr.....	1
4 yrs.....	5	3 yrs.....	2
5 “.....	3	4 “.....	2
6 “.....	3	5 “.....	4
7 “.....	11	6 “.....	5
8 “.....	5	7 “.....	9
9 “.....	10	8 “.....	12
10 “.....	12	9 “.....	5
11 “.....	9	10 “.....	16
12 “.....	3	11 “.....	8
15 “.....	2	12 “.....	2
?.....	1	15 “.....	1
Total		Total	
66		67	

are not satisfactory, will become delinquent and will later be included in that group of dependents who are also delinquent. The average age of the dependent boys is ten years and of the dependent girls twelve years. The difference in age of the sexes may be accounted for, at least in part, by the fact that it is easier for young boys to become self-supporting than it is for girls; hence the boy falls out of the group of dependents more easily and at an earlier age than the girl.

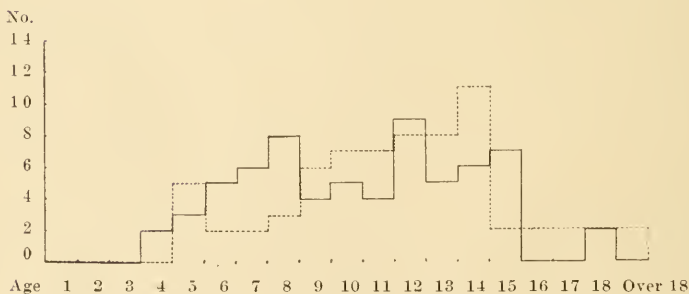
Chronological and mental ages compared.—The average mental age of the dependent children is almost the same for both boys and girls, being a little over eight years. A comparison of the mental with the chronological age shows that the average mental age of the boys is two years less than the average chronological age, while the average mental age of the girls is four years less than the chronological age. This would indicate, in at least this group of dependent children, that the girls are on the whole more backward than the boys. This may be partially explained by the fact that the boys as a group are younger and, as a result, defect does not show itself as clearly as it may in later years. The fact, too, that the boys are more likely than the girls to be held as delinquent on small provocation

would tend to make a larger number of the boys appear in the group of delinquents, where the average chronological age of the boys is greater than in the dependent group. It not infrequently occurs that, in the families where the girls are



Graph 8. Mental age of dependent boys and girls.

Boys, solid line.
Girls, dotted line.



Graph 9. Chronological age of dependent boys and girls.

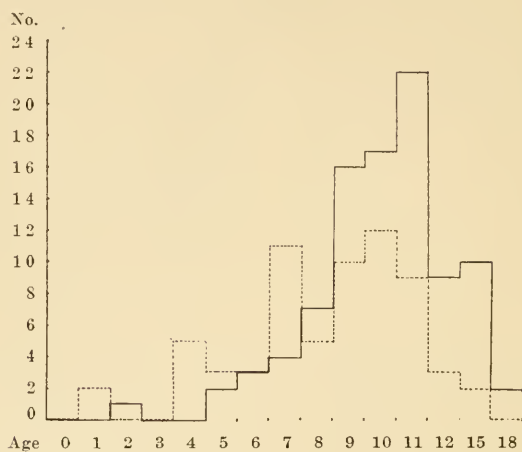
Boys, solid line.
Girls, dotted line.

dependent, there may be boys even younger who already have delinquency records in the juvenile court. The following table gives the diagnosis of the dependent children when classified according to the Binet scale.

TABLE 27.—DIAGNOSIS OF THE DEPENDENT CHILDREN GRADED BY THE
BINET SCALE

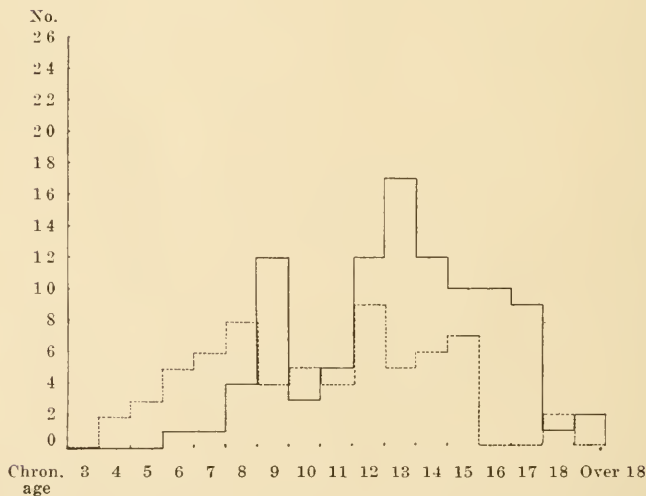
<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
Idiot	1	Idiot	1
Imbecile	0	Imbecile	6
Moron	13	Moron	13
Defective	4	Defective	1
Backward	21	Backward	27
Normal	26	Normal	19
?	1		—
	—	Total	67
Total	66		

Delinquent and dependent children compared.—By means of graphs 10 to 13 inclusive, it is easy to compare, with respect to mental and chronological age, the delinquent and the dependent children making up this study. These curves show clearly that as the chronological age increases the number of delinquents increases very rapidly. The number of dependent children over fourteen years of age is comparatively small, whereas the larger number of delinquents are more than fourteen years old. It is known that, to a considerable extent, the delinquents have been recruited from the ranks of the dependents and that in reality many of the delinquents are simply dependents grown older. The group of delinquent children may be subdivided into the two divisions, those who have always been largely dependent on outside aid and those who have come from homes which have been financially independent. Of the two hundred and five delinquent children, sixty-two are also dependent and could be included in the dependency group except for the special fact of their delinquency. The table giving the diagnosis of the dependent children as classified according to the Binet scale shows that for both boys and girls thirty-five, or 26 per cent, are actually feeble-minded, forty-five, or 34 per cent, are normal, and the rest, fifty-three, or 40 per cent, are on the border-line between the normal and the feeble-minded, with a certainty that a considerable number will not develop to adult years in a normal manner. These dependent children form an exceedingly



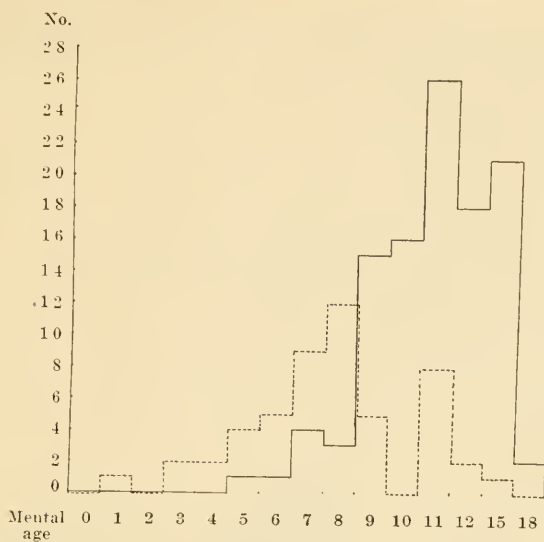
Graph 10. Mental ages of dependent and of delinquent boys.

Delinquent, solid line.
Dependent, dotted line.



Graph 11. Chronological ages of dependent and of delinquent boys.

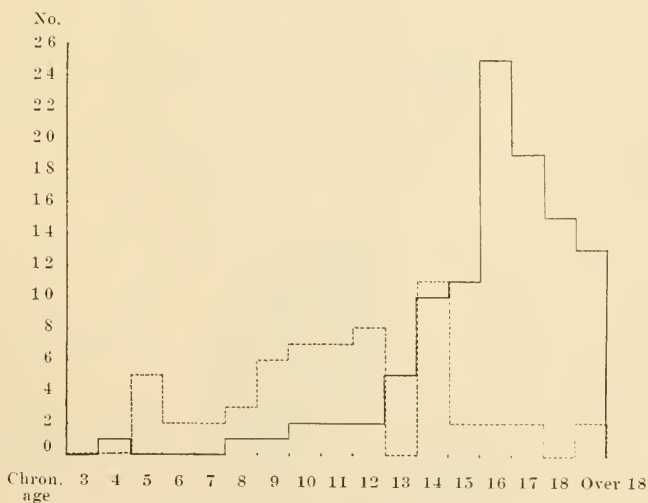
Delinquent, solid line.
Dependent, dotted line.



Graph 12. Mental ages of dependent and of delinquent girls.

Delinquent, solid line.

Dependent, dotted line.



Graph 13. Chronological ages of dependent and of delinquent girls.

Delinquent, solid line.

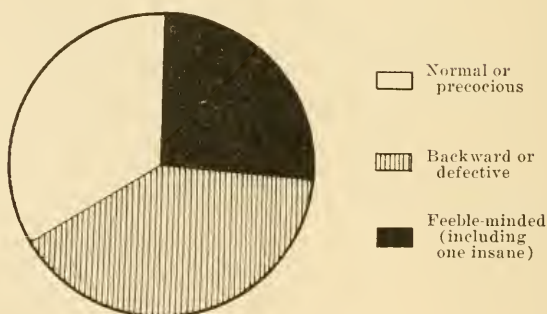
Dependent, dotted line.

TABLE 28.—MENTAL STATUS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

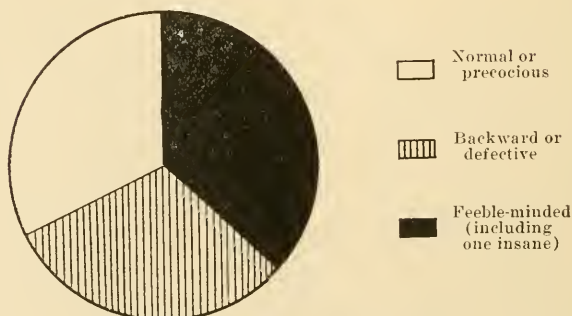
Feeble-minded, including one insane	35	26%
Backward or defective	53	40%
Normal or precocious	45	34%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	133	100%

TABLE 29.—MENTAL STATUS OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

Feeble-minded, including one insane	76	37%
Backward or defective	64	31%
Normal or precocious	65	32%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	205	100%



Graph 14. Mental status of dependent children.



Graph 15. Mental status of delinquent children.

important social group. There are many of them at present and their number is not likely to become smaller. The problem of caring for them is a serious one and it is quite obvious that no means should be overlooked for its solution both in the interests of the children and of society. More than half, as the above percentages show, require special care, and a failure to provide this necessary care must be followed by disastrous consequences. None of this particular group has as yet been seriously delinquent, but there is a strong probability that a good many will become delinquent if not cared for in a far-sighted manner. Surely the feeble-minded can never be held morally responsible; and the best policy, and in the end the most economical one, will be to make a close study of this class of children and to provide for them during the rest of their lives, that they may never become more dangerous or unhappy than they are at present.

Parents of dependent children.—The study of the parents of the dependent children is fully as instructive as is that of

TABLE 30.—CLASSIFICATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
TYPES OF PARENTS

Both parents inefficient	67
Both parents unknown	18
Father insane, mother inefficient	4
Father inefficient, mother insane	2
Father inefficient, mother neurotic	1
Both parents neurotic	2
Father normal, mother inefficient	3
Mother normal, father inefficient	12
Both parents normal	24
<hr/>	
Total	133

TABLE 31.—CLASSIFICATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN, SHOWING
EXTENT OF DEPENDENCY

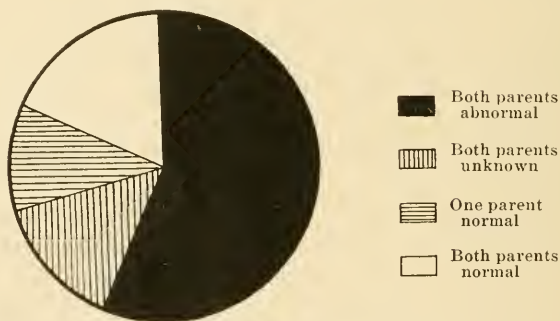
Children in institutions	39
Children from families in constant need of aid	55
Children of widows receiving widows' pension	20
Children in foster-homes	19
<hr/>	
Total	133

TABLE 32.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN WITH NORMAL OR ABNORMAL PARENTS

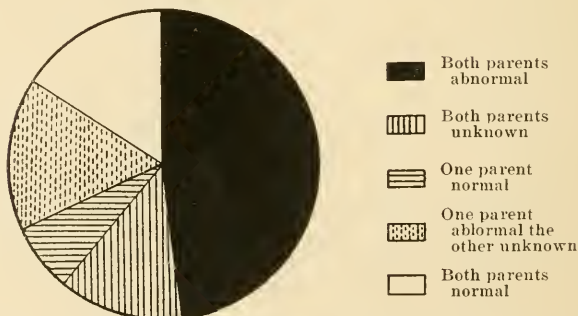
Both parents normal	24	18%
One parent normal	15	11%
Both parents abnormal	76	57%
Both parents unknown	18	14%
Total	133	100%

TABLE 33.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN WITH NORMAL OR ABNORMAL PARENTS

Both parents normal	33	16%
One parent normal	14	7%
Both parents abnormal	99	48%
Both parents unknown	26	13%
One parent abnormal, the other unknown	33	16%
Total	205	100%



Graph 16. Proportion of normal and abnormal parents in the group of dependent children.



Graph 17. Proportions of normal and abnormal parents in the group of delinquent children.

the parents of the delinquents. Results here again tend to show that the two groups of dependents and delinquents are not fundamentally very different. There is in the dependent group a somewhat larger proportion of children having both parents abnormal, but otherwise the tables and graphs are strikingly alike. (See graphs 16 and 17.) The following tables indicate the types of the parents of the dependent children according to the scheme which was used for the delinquents.

Family status of dependents.—Table 34 shows that the father is absent from the home in a much larger number of instances than is the mother. This would of course be expected, since the father is the usual bread-winner and his death or desertion would in most cases at once render the family dependent.

TABLE 34.—FAMILY STATUS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN, ACCORDING TO PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF PARENTS

Both parents living and together	29
Both parents dead or unknown	19
Father living, mother dead or unknown	19
Father dead or unknown, mother living	41
Mother at home, deserted by father	13
Father at home, deserted by mother	3
Deserted by both parents	7
Condition of parents unknown	2
<hr/>	
Total	133

TABLE 35.—PARENTS NOT LIVING TOGETHER

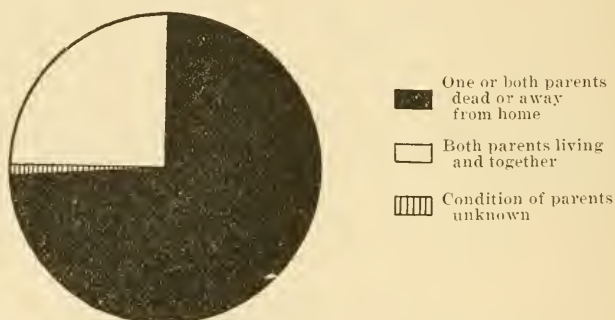
Divorced	5
Separated	18
<hr/>	
Total	23

TABLE 36.—FAMILY CONDITION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN RELATIVE TO THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF PARENTS

Both parents living and together	29	22%
One or both parents dead or away from home	102	77%
Condition of parents unknown	2	1%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	133	100%

TABLE 37.—FAMILY CONDITION OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN RELATIVE TO THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF PARENTS

Both parents living and together	71	35%
One or both parents dead or away from home	131	64%
Condition of parents unknown	3	1%
Total	205	100%



Graph 18. Family condition of dependent children in respect to the presence or absence of one or both parents.



Graph 19. Family condition of delinquent children in respect to the presence or absence of one or both parents.

Employment of parents of dependents.—The occupations of the parents of the dependent children are somewhat less varied than is the case with the delinquents, but their general type is the same. Unskilled occupations and those in which employ-

ment is of necessity irregular predominate. A larger proportion of the fathers of dependents are unskilled day-laborers, but otherwise the two tables might almost be interchanged.

TABLE 38.—OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

<i>Father</i>			
Laborer	25	Merchant	1
Stationary engineer	4	Teamster	1
Fruit-peddler	3	Model-maker	1
Carpenter	3	Boiler-washer	1
Ranch hand	2	Seller of lottery tickets	1
Longshoreman	2	Woodcutter	1
Street-lamp lighter	2	Electrician	1
Painter	2	Sailor	1
Buttonhole maker	2	Night watchman	1
Tin-roofer	1	"Gentleman"	1
Conductor	1	Printer	1
Builder	1	Plasterer	1
Shipping clerk	1	No occupation	1
Paper-hanger	1	Occupation unknown	67
Stevedore	1		—
Architect	1	Total	133
Fireman	1		
<i>Mother</i>			
Housewife	70	Packing-house hand	1
Day-servant	12	Dancing girl	1
Factory hand	3	Domestic servant	1
Practical nurse	2	Rooming-house keeper	1
Laundry-worker	2	Occupation unknown	36
Dressmaker	2		—
Prostitute	2	Total	133

Nativity of parents.—Table 40 shows that Italy again has a number of individuals in the list far in excess of what she should have when the number of foreign-born Italians in San Francisco is taken into consideration. In this list Ireland is second in having many dependents, while Germany, which was second in the delinquency table, is fifth in the dependency list. This indicates that the Germans, at least in San Francisco, have a greater tendency to delinquency than to dependency and that in respect to delinquency they are far less desirable immigrants than in

respect to dependency. It must always be borne in mind, however, that the numbers which are being considered here are so small that the indications are not conclusive.

TABLE 39.—NATIVITY OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Native-born of native-born parents	34
Native-born of mixed parentage	8
Native-born of foreign-born parents	44
Foreign-born of foreign-born parents	13
Nativity unknown	34
<hr/>	
Total	133

TABLE 40.—NATIVE COUNTRY OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS

Italy	26
Ireland	23
Spain	19
France	14
Germany	6
Porto Rico	6
Chile	4
Scotland	4
Hawaii	4
Mexico	4
Russia	2
England	2
Sweden	2
Norway	2
Portugal	2
Belgium	1
Finland	1
<hr/>	
Total	122

Environment of dependent children.—The table showing the environment of the dependent children, based on the same scheme as was used in the case of the delinquents, shows again a marked resemblance between the delinquent and the dependent children. Most of the dependent children come from bad or unsatisfactory homes, but a somewhat larger proportion comes from good homes—namely, 34 per cent of the dependents, as against 23 per cent

of the delinquents. In this connection the group of delinquents who are also dependent has been considered separately, and of this group almost none come from good homes, merely 3 per cent of the total.

TABLE 41.—ENVIRONMENT OF DEPENDENTS

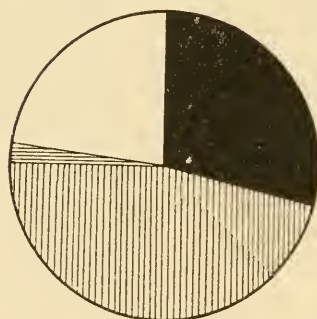
Environment good	45	34%
Environment bad	29	22%
Environment unsatisfactory	58	43%
Environment unknown	1	1%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	133	100%

TABLE 42.—ENVIRONMENT OF DEPENDENT-DELINQUENTS



Environment good	2	3%
Environment bad	27	44%
Environment unsatisfactory	33	53%
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	62	100%

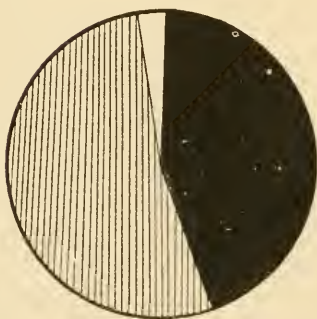


Dependents.



Delinquents.

-  Bad environ-
ment
-  Unsatisfactory
environment
-  Environment
unknown
-  Good environ-
ment



Dependent delinquents.

Graphs 20, 21 and 22. Environmental conditions of various groups of children.

NOTES ON GROUP OF MISCELLANEOUS CASES

This last group consists of children coming to the clinic, who for some reason seemed to be abnormal. They are interesting only as individuals or as examples of the types of children that are brought to a psychological clinic for some apparent abnormality. There were one hundred and twelve of these children. When graded according to the Binet scale, the results shown in table 43 were obtained. Those children, ranking

TABLE 43.—DIAGNOSES OF CASES ACCORDING TO THE BINET SCALE

Idiot	7
Imbecile	15
Moron	14
Defective	2
Backward	31
Normal	42
?(Insane)	1
<hr/>	
Total	112

according to the Binet scale as normal or approximately normal in respect to general intelligence, present a number of interesting mental, physical and neurological abnormalities. They are briefly summarized in table 44.

TABLE 44.—CHILDREN GRADED AS NORMAL BY THE BINET SCALE

Normal in every respect	7
Neurotic and mentally unstable	13
Epileptic	8
Given to violent fits of temper	3
Suffering from adenoids	3
Congenitally deaf	2
Unable to learn to spell	1
Choreic	1
Ill with pulmonary tuberculosis	1
Suffering from defective vision	1
Lazy and inefficient	1
Paralytic	1
<hr/>	
Total	42

TABLE 45.—CHRONOLOGICAL AGES OF THE MISCELLANEOUS GROUP

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
1 yr.....	1	3 yrs.....	2
3 yrs.....	2	4 “.....	3
4 “.....	4	5 “.....	2
5 “.....	5	6 “.....	5
6 “.....	8	7 “.....	5
7 “.....	4	8 “.....	1
8 “.....	8	9 “.....	3
9 “.....	5	10 “.....	3
10 “.....	6	11 “.....	2
11 “.....	4	12 “.....	1
12 “.....	1	13 “.....	4
13 “.....	5	14 “.....	1
14 “.....	5	15 “.....	5
15 “.....	1	16 “.....	3
16 “.....	2	17 “.....	2
17 “.....	2	18 “.....	1
23 “.....	1	19 “.....	1
30 “.....	1	22 “.....	1
—	—	28 “.....	1
Total	65	36 “.....	1
		Total	47

TABLE 46.—MENTAL AGES OF THE MISCELLANEOUS GROUP

<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
1 yr.....	3	1 yr.....	2
2 yrs.....	5	2 yrs.....	2
3 “.....	3	3 “.....	1
4 “.....	5	4 “.....	2
5 “.....	5	5 “.....	4
6 “.....	7	6 “.....	7
7 “.....	5	7 “.....	3
8 “.....	6	8 “.....	7
9 “.....	4	9 “.....	2
10 “.....	6	10 “.....	4
11 “.....	10	11 “.....	8
12 “.....	2	12 “.....	2
15 “.....	2	15 “.....	2
?	2	?	1
Total	65	Total	47

Among the backward and feeble-minded children in this miscellaneous class there were to be found nearly as many types as in the so-called normal group. Among them were two epileptics, four paralytics, four Mongolian idiots, one hydrocephalic, two cretins, besides a number of children who were constitutionally psychopathic. This whole group has been a most interesting one because of the number of rather unusual mental and nervous disorders which have been brought to the attention of the examiners. These children were brought in usually by their own parents; they came as a rule from fairly good homes, and because of the natural reticence on the part of the parents the study of the social background was not at all satisfactory. As individual cases, however, they have helped to make the work in the clinic rich in special opportunities for studying mental and physical abnormality.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

As has been shown in the preceding pages, of the delinquent children included in this study, 36 per cent may be considered definitely feeble-minded, 32 per cent backward or with a defect less than actual feeble-mindedness, and 32 per cent normal so far as general intelligence is concerned. In the group of dependents, 26 per cent may be regarded as feeble-minded, 39 per cent as backward or defective, and 34 per cent as normal. The fact that the ages of the two groups, delinquents and dependents, differ materially, may account, to a very large extent, for the differences in the percentages of defect in the two classes. As the younger backward children grow older, many will unquestionably continue to lag in their development and later will go to make up a larger group of feeble-minded children.

Considerable work has been done by other persons with delinquent children, but there are no adequate statistics available as to the mental status of dependents as a class. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the inmates of almshouses are feeble-minded, but this is based on more or less superficial and untrained observation, and cannot be accepted as conclusive. Much more reliable figures are to be had as to the mental status of offenders, both juvenile and adult, but even in these there is considerable variance. Dr. Goddard concludes that probably 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the people in prisons are mentally defective, and that 50 per cent of prostitutes are feeble-minded. These conclusions he bases on the reports of tests made on individuals in reformatory institutions, the results of which are shown in table 47 taken from his recent publication.⁴

The report of the Massachusetts "Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, So-called," gives the results obtained from testing a group of three hundred prostitutes by

⁴ Goddard, H. H., *Feeble-mindedness: its causes and consequences*, New York, Macmillan, 1914, p. 9.

TABLE 47.—DEFECTIVES IN REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Percentage Defective
St. Cloud, Minnesota, Reformatory	54
Rahway Reformatory (New Jersey) (Binet)	46
Bedford Reformatory, New York (under 11 years)	80
Lancaster, Massachusetts (Girls' Reformatory)	60
Lancaster, Massachusetts (50 paroled girls)	82
Lyman School for Boys, Westborough, Massachusetts	28
Pentonville, Illinois, Juveniles	40
Massachusetts Reformatory, Concord	52
Newark, New Jersey, Juvenile Court	66
Elmira Reformatory	70
Geneva, Illinois (Binet)	89
Ohio Boys' School (Binet)	70
Ohio Girls' School (Binet)	70
Virginia, three reformatories (Binet)	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls	75
Glen Mills Schools, Pennsylvania, Girls' Dept., about	72

the Binet scale. Of the total three hundred cases, one hundred and fifty-four, or 51 per cent, were unquestionably feeble-minded. This estimate is very conservative, for all doubtful cases were called normal, and it was recognized by the examiners that of the one hundred and thirty-five called normal "not more than six of the entire group seemed to have really good minds." The report further states that at the Massachusetts school for the feeble-minded "are an equal number of women and girls, medically and legally certified as feeble-minded, who are of equal or superior mental capacity" to the above-mentioned one hundred and thirty-five cases classed as normal.

The report of the work of the Morals Court in Chicago gives the estimate that 50 per cent of women prostitutes are mentally defective, this conclusion being based on an investigation of the school grades attained by the women.

W. H. Pyle⁵ studied two hundred and forty delinquent girls in the State Industrial Home for Girls, in Chillicothe, Missouri. He made use of groups of tests for invention, free association,

⁵ Pyle, W. H., A study of delinquent girls, *Psychological Clinic*, VIII, 143-149, October, 1914.

memory and imagination, and concluded that two-thirds of the girls were subnormal, probably high-grade morons. He did not use the Binet tests, because of lack of time for the individual tests.

Miss Margaret Otis, resident psychologist in the State Home for Girls in Trenton, New Jersey,⁶ has reported the results of her examinations of one hundred and seventy-two of the girls in this institution and finds only 25 per cent "presumably normal." The remaining 75 per cent are "Defective," 30 per cent being "Morons."

Dr. William Healy, of the Chicago Juvenile Psychopathic Institute,⁷ has examined one thousand young recidivists, by means of a group of tests devised by himself and Dr. Graec Fernald, and concludes that "about 10 per cent" of this group of cases are "beyond peradventure feeble-minded" and that 67.4 are cases "that should be regarded without question as mentally normal." Although Healy finds a much larger proportion of his young offenders normal than do most observers, still he concludes that "mental defect forms the largest single cause of delinquency to be found by correlating tendency to offend with characteristics of the offender."

Miss Emile Renz, of Columbus, Ohio,⁸ has made a careful study of one hundred consecutive admissions to the Ohio Girls' Industrial Home, all of the inmates of which had been committed by the court with the statement that the intellect was sound, with the concession made in two cases, "but not apt." Of these one hundred girls, 79 per cent show more than three years' retardation. Two of them pass the twelve-year tests and therefore pass into the lowest stratum of normals, leaving 77 per cent feeble-minded, according to the Binet classification. Three years' retardation is coming to be considered too little on which

⁶ Otis, Margaret, Binet tests applied to delinquent girls, *Psychological Clinic*, vii, 127-135, October, 1913.

⁷ Healy, William, *The individual delinquent*. Boston, Little, 1915, pp. 140, 447.

⁸ Renz, Emile, A study of the intelligence of delinquents and the eugenic significance of mental defect, *Training School Bulletin*, xi, 37-40, May, 1914.

to make the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness, and if a retardation of four years is required, the number of feeble-minded in the one hundred cases drops to 58 per cent. Miss Renz considers that 58 per cent "represents the moderate statement, and a trustworthy figure for theoretic purposes."

George S. Addams, Judge of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland, Ohio,⁹ in a report to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, makes a strong plea for mental examinations of children in the courts, emphasizing the importance of mental deficiency in the causation of vice and crime. He states that of one hundred consecutive commitments to the Boys' Industrial School of Ohio, only seventeen were found normal, the balance being border-line, backward or defective.

H. B. Hickman of the Indiana Boys' School¹⁰ tested two hundred and twenty-nine boys in that institution by the Binet scale and concluded that of the whole number "only about sixty-three will be able to get out and take anything like a normal station in society, at least forty-five will always be unfit for anything except institution life, and the remainder will always require assistance of some kind toward making their living."

The George Junior Republic, in Freeville, New York, has also had to face the problem of mental deficiency in the case of some of its 'citizens.' The fact that a few of these children had failed to benefit as they should have done by the methods of the Republic, led the Educational Department of Cornell University to carry out, at the request of the Republic, tests of mental status on the more troublesome cases. As a result, a series of clinics was held and twenty-six of the 'citizens,' twenty boys and six girls, were tested according to Goddard's revision of the 1911 Binet-Simon tests.¹¹ Of the six girls, two were

⁹ Addams, Geo. S., Defectives in the juvenile court, *Training School Bulletin*, XI, 49-55, June, 1914.

¹⁰ Hickman, H. B., Delinquent and criminal boys tested by the Binet scale, *Training School Bulletin*, XI, 159-165, January, 1915.

¹¹ Jennings, H. M., and Hallock, A. L., Binet-Simon tests at the George Junior Republic, *Jour. Educ. Psychol.*, IV, 471-475, October, 1913.

definitely defective and two probably defective. It was concluded that the first two should be removed from the Republic and the second two should be re-tested later for signs of improvement. Of the twenty boys tested, three were graded as morons and their removal from the Republic was advised. The next four were border-line cases, needing further study; the remaining thirteen were normal. The examiners have concluded that "the tests have served a real purpose in the practical administration of the Freeville Republic, and it is planned that in the future no applicants for admission to citizenship will be received until their mental status has been scientifically determined."

All the evidence points to the same conclusion: that a large proportion of delinquents are defective, and that the mental deficiency has undoubtedly exercised a large influence in the causation of their delinquency. An important next step includes careful study of delinquents wherever they are found, and beyond this a study of the school population in order to determine as nearly as possible which of the school children will be clearly incapable of developing normally, and to make adequate plans for them before they become delinquent. If this is to be done successfully, the whole class of dependents must also be carefully studied and permanent plans must be made for them, so that, when they arrive at an age when state laws no longer provide for their maintenance, any who need special care or supervision can be provided for permanently. Measures looking toward this end will prevent many dependent children from becoming delinquent as soon as the rather unusual supervision exercised over them by the state, either in institutions or in boarding-homes or under the provisions of the Widows' Pension Law, has been removed.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF TYPICAL CASE-HISTORIES

Case 29.—M. J. was referred to the Psychological Clinic by the maternity ward of the University Hospital, because she seemed defective. It was said of her that she used such bad language that she could not be allowed to remain in the ward with the other patients. She was an unmarried woman of thirty-two years and had an infant a few weeks old. This woman's parents had died when she was about seven years old and she was placed in an orphanage. There she remained until she was fifteen years old, when work was found for her in a private home as a domestic servant and she was discharged from the institution. In less than a year's time she gave birth to an illegitimate child, which had a hare-lip and died when three days old. From that time till about a year ago she supported herself by doing housework. Under supervision she works very well, but morally she is entirely irresponsible. According to the Binet scale she has a mental age of nine years and is distinctly feeble-minded. All other tests show her equally defective. She has already had two illegitimate children and if left at large, will almost certainly have more. She is assuredly a person who needs care and protection such as could be given her in the proper institution; society should find means of protecting itself against such individuals.

Case 32.—C. G. is a fourteen-year-old girl sent to the Psychological Clinic by the Associated Charities of San Francisco. The father is unknown and the mother is alcoholic and immoral. The mother has also been considered mentally defective. For six years C. G. has been in a foster-home where she has received good care and training. She is now in the second grade in school and is clearly a defective child. She occasionally has epileptic convulsions. According to the Binet scale she has

a mental age of eight years and will never be a normal person. She will never be able to support herself without a very large measure of supervision and should certainly not be thrown upon her own responsibilities at any time. Steps should be taken to place her in an institution for the feeble-minded before it becomes necessary to release her from the care of the Children's Agency of the Associated Charities of San Francisco. There she would learn to do simple, routine work, and would be protected during the rest of her life from the dangers to which she would be exposed if left at large.

Case 39.—C. M. is a fourteen-year-old boy sent to the clinic by the Associated Charities. Three years ago he was taken from his parents, both of whom were known to be immoral, and committed to the Children's Agency. He was at that time in an exceedingly bad physical condition as the result of hereditary syphilis, and it was necessary to keep him in a hospital for two years, receiving appropriate treatment, before it was considered safe to place him in a foster-home. For the past year he has been in a good home and has improved greatly both mentally and physically. According to the Binet scale he has a mental age of nine years with a retardation of five years. He is now in the third grade in school. Until a year ago this boy had never attended school. In spite of his great physical handicap his progress has been gratifying, and, although he is still far from normal, some further improvement is to be expected.

Cases 40, 65, 91 and 92.—These four children were brought to the clinic from one of the orphanages of San Francisco. N. D. and N. S. are brother and sister, as are J. J. and J. S. They all have the same maternal grandmother. The parents of N. D. and N. S. were both drunkards, and the mother died of pulmonary tuberculosis. N. D., an eight-year-old epileptic girl, is entirely irresponsible and unable to fix her attention on any mental work long enough to do schoolwork successfully. S. N., her brother, is an eleven-year-old boy apparently normal in every way. He is in the sixth grade in the

public school, is bright and energetic, and has good native ability. He has a mental age of nearly twelve years, and seems to have no abnormal tendencies of any kind.

The father of J. J. and J. S. was a drunkard, probably mentally defective, and was thought to have murdered his own mother, though this crime was never proven against him. The mother of these two children was very eccentric. She is now dead. J. J. is a fourteen-year-old girl with a mental age of ten years. She is in the sixth grade in the public school and is quiet and obedient, though it is recognized by nearly all with whom she comes in contact that she is below normal. Her brother, J. S., is thirteen years old with a mental age of nine years. He is only in the third grade and is regarded as markedly defective. These four children of one grandmother, who was known to be exceedingly peculiar, show well the effect of bad heredity. It is not possible to say, out of all the factors which make the heredity so bad, which are the most important. Only one of the four children is normal, one is epileptic, and two are mentally defective.

Case 103.—P. C. is a nine-year-old boy brought to the Juvenile Court by his mother because he had tried to poison his little sister. He had poured off the liquid from poison flypaper and had given it to the child to drink. He said that he had read in the paper that it would kill, and that he had wanted to see what she looked like while she was dying. His mother found him trying to give the baby the poisoned water, and so averted the catastrophe. He ordinarily seemed rather fond of his sister and frequently played with her. His mother says, however, that he is not affectionate and does not care much for anyone. He is small for his age and very quick and bright. According to the Binet scale he has a mental age of eleven years, ranking two years above normal. He has remarkable mechanical ability and is very fond of machinery of all kinds. The home seems good in every way and the parents normal. This last act on the part of the boy, however, has filled the mother with apprehen-

sion and she is distinctly afraid of what he may do in the future. He is above the average in intelligence and in ingenuity, and if handled wisely may develop remarkably. This is one of the rare cases in which a precocious child with marked ability is so devoid of natural feeling as to make him an actual menace to those about him.

Case 122.—G. M. is a fourteen-year-old girl brought to the Juvenile Court for repeated immorality. She comes from a good home; both parents are normal so far as can be judged. For the past two years she has been running away from home again and again, and is a source of constant and deep concern to her parents. They have done everything in their power to give her normal and varied interests, but cannot influence her in any way. She has had music lessons and has been placed in a gymnasium, but nothing attracts her. Recently she has grown morose and sullen and seems to have no affection for other members of her family. She is in the seventh grade in school, and has always seemed as bright as the average girl of her age. According to the Binet scale she has a mental age of over twelve years, ranking as normal. The great trouble with this girl seems to be her persistent immorality, which she cannot explain. She simply says she cannot help it. Whether she is to be dominated all her life by these abnormal impulses, it is impossible to say, but at the present time she should be placed in some institution where she can be observed and where she can be protected from herself.

Case 415.—T. J. is a six-year-old boy, who was brought to the clinic by his school-teacher for stealing and untruthfulness. It was reported that he stole everything he could lay hands on, and could never be relied on to tell the truth about anything. There are four children in the family, this lad being the oldest of the four. The father is a drunkard and has never provided for the needs of the family in a satisfactory way. About two years ago he deserted the mother with her four small children and has not been heard of since. The mother worked for a

time as a telephone operator and with the aid of relatives managed to look after the children. Her lot was a hard one, however, and her responsibilities apparently were too much for her, for less than a year ago she, too, disappeared leaving the children with their grandmother. Since then the whole family has been cared for to a considerable extent by the Associated Charities, for the grandmother is not financially able to look after them. All have lacked moral training and are entirely undisciplined. This boy seems to have developed no moral sense and to him there is no "mine and thine." He has a mental age of seven years according to the Binet scale and has good native ability in all directions. He is affectionate and attractive, though very selfish. In general intelligence he seems rather above the average child of his age. The boy's greatest trouble seems to be a moral deficiency due very largely to lack of moral training. He needs the most careful education along moral and mental lines, if he is to develop in a normal way. It is probable, if he is neglected, that the dangerous tendencies which he now shows will become more marked and make further trouble.

Cases 190, 289 and 366.—G. M., F. J. and F. E. are three sisters referred to the clinic through different agencies. The mother is dead and the father is a cook on a river-boat. He is alcoholic and irresponsible and for some time has failed to support his family. All three of the girls are seriously immoral and seem to have the lowest social standards. G. M., who is twenty-three years old, has a mental age of nine years; F. J., who is nineteen years old, has a mental age of ten years; F. E., aged seventeen years, has a mental age of twelve years. Two of these girls, then, are definitely feeble-minded and the third defective but not actually feeble-minded. The two younger girls are under the care of the Juvenile Court, but the oldest is married and already has two children. She is almost entirely dependent on public aid for her living, and her youngest child has a serious disease of the eyes which will probably result in at least partial blindness. This woman's husband has deserted her and she is living with a man to whom she is not married.

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